

*Review of*  
**INTERNATIONAL  
AFFAIRS**

**112**

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THE DAY OF THE REPUBLIC

Gustav VLAHOV

NATIONAL INSURANCE OF THE DISABLED

Marko RISTIĆ

THE YUGOSLAV BOOK THROUGH THE AGES

Khin Maung GALE

TWO FRIENDLY COUNTRIES

Djuro NINČIĆ

IMPRESSIONS FROM THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF ASIA

R. MITROVIC

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN YUGOSLAVIA

EXCERPTS FROM MARSHAL TITO'S SPEECH IN KOPAR

# Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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## The Day of the Republic

VERY few holidays are so strongly woven into the life and work of a nation, into the history and destiny of a country as November 29 — the holiday of free, independent Yugoslavia. Very few dates gather in themselves, as a symbol and banner, the rich and precious content which makes of this day a synonym for an entire revolution and a whole epoch in the life of the Yugoslav peoples: for the days of the Liberation War in which the battle was waged for national and social liberation, and for the no less strenuous days of the building of the socialist social community and the preservation of the hardly won national sovereignty and independence of the new State. That is why November 29 — the day which marks a historical session of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia, held in the midst of Hitlerite offensives on the soil of this, our often attacked and occupied, but never conquered or subdued, country — is the past and present and future of socialist Yugoslavia.

Many fateful events are a thing of the past: they have been recorded and they have become the history of both Yugoslavia and Europe and mankind. When the Yugoslavs rose in 1941 against an aggressor who was ten times or a hundred times more powerful, and when they tied tens of Hitlerite divisions to this small section of the explosive

Balkan soil, this was not only a struggle for a better life and for freedom, for an economically and socially new Yugoslavia, but also the most concrete participation in the common resistance of the freedom-loving peoples against aggression. The free, federative community of the Yugoslav peoples came into being and, together with it, the policy of friendship with all those who condemn aggression and want peace, the policy of cooperation and equality.

The war was brought to an end, but difficulties amid the greatest efforts in the building of the new society — had not ceased: came the year 1948 and Yugoslavia found herself alone, but she did not bow to force. She looked for new ways of friendship and cooperation and found them, not without difficulty and not without sacrifices. On October 8, 1953 when the interests of her independence and her equality of rights in the international arena were at stake, she knew how to say: No! just as she always said: Yes! when it was a question of joint efforts to consolidate peace and promote relations between nations.

Today Yugoslavia is a country where independent management by the workers has deeply penetrated into all spheres of the political, economic and social life; it has ceased to be only an attempt and experiment, and has become a precious asset of socialist democracy. In the international arena, Yugoslavia has affirmed herself as a country without guardians or masters. But she does not balance between blocs, she does not pursue a policy of neutralism, but actively advocates — as she always did and will always do — international cooperation and such coexistence in the world of today, which contains various social orders, conceptions and views, as will open the horizons of a future more human and more worthy of man and mankind. That is why in Athens and Ankara today, Yugoslavia is an allied country, in Rome — a country with which one can be friends for mutual benefit, in the West a country whose independence is valued and whose role in international relations is welcome, in the East a country with which cooperation is possible on an equal basis and without interference in her internal affairs, while in distant India and Burma — a country whose policy is respected because it is inspired by principles which mean independence and the right of every people to be master of its own destiny.

And tomorrow — as yesterday, as today — Yugoslavia will consistently uphold the principles which were built in her foundations on November 29, principles which are identical with the most humanitarian values for which the human community has always striven: the principles of the United Nations Organization. This is the path marked by this great holiday — which is the token and banner of the Yugoslav struggle for a world in which there will be no hardships of war and sorrows of poverty.

„We therefore say: we are like this; now you know what we are like: we will cooperate with you in matters relating to international security, against aggression, for peaceful cooperation and coexistence. This is the fundamental line of policy which we advocate and for which we fight shoulder to shoulder with many other peoples. We have told this both to those in the East and those in the West. Nobody has the right to say that we are incorrigible neutralists; no, we are an active independent country on the international scene. We wish to be a factor which contributes to pacification, and not aggravate the situation still further by taking a satellite attitude, by siding with one bloc or another.”

(From Marshal Tito's speech)

## We Have Our Own Policy

### EXCERPTS FROM MARSHAL TITO'S SPEECH IN KOPAR

During his visit to the area incorporated into Yugoslavia under the Trieste Agreement, the President of the Republic Marshal Tito, made a speech at a mass meeting in Kopar.

In the beginning of his speech, President Tito emphasized the significance of the Trieste settlement, stressing that possibilities for full cooperation between Italy and Yugoslavia, have thus been created. In that part of his speech, President Tito devoted particular attention to the responsibility borne by both governments for the free development of national minorities; addressing the people of the Kopar and Buje localities, he declared that Yugoslavia will foster the development of these areas. He also reviewed some internal problems, and stressed that all the necessary measures have already been taken for the elimination of the adverse effects of this year's drought and the gradual improvement of the standard of living.

In the course of his speech, President Tito outlined the Yugoslavia's attitude towards some international problems and stated, inter alia:

I HAVE already briefly described our present position, and would like to say a few words regarding the role of Yugoslavia today on the international scene. This is no longer the old Yugoslavia. Thanks to the monolithic unity of her people although she is a multi-national country, her high degree of consciousness, the sacrifice she made during the war, thanks particularly to her persistent endeavours to preserve her independence and her constantly peace-loving policy in the struggle for peace, Yugoslavia has acquired a vast prestige in the world. As a peace-loving country, Yugoslavia constitutes an important international factor in the struggle for peace. Our country has won many friends throughout the world. Needless to say, she has also made a number of enemies. Yugoslavia has ideological enemies, because she is a socialist country, and there are people who do not like socialism, and who also are opposed to her independence, as they would want Yugoslavia to be a dependent country. I would like to speak of that to-day.

#### ESSENCE OF THE NORMALIZATION OF OUR RELATIONS WITH EASTERN COUNTRIES.

I would like you to know more about the essence of the normalization of Yugoslavia's relations with the Soviet Union. You have surely heard already that the initiative for this was taken by the Soviet Union followed by the other Eastern countries, but not by our country. The initiative came from their side, and this is also entirely correct. We welcome this fact, as we were not to blame for the rupture of relations, because it has been conclusively proved in the course of time, and it has been conclusively proved at last, that the truth is on our side. They have also finally admitted that the truth is on our side, and that we were not to blame. They have said so, they still say so, though not clearly enough, but still with sufficient clarity for everyone to see who was really to blame. Thus, after a full six years our people scored another great success, as we have finally proved what we persistently affirmed, namely, that we are no rogues, spies, foreign agents, fascists, or traitors of socialism, but that the split was caused by purely political reasons, as a result of the

Stalinist policy. We welcome the fact that the new leaders of the Soviet Union have enough courage to discontinue the policy pursued hitherto, at least in this respect, and offer us to resume normal, even good, relations. Should we have rejected this offer? No! We have always stated our demands clearly, namely that we ask for equal rights, equal treatment, normal relations, as we have nothing against the peoples of the Soviet Union and other countries. Although I have already spoken on this subject on several occasions, I reiterate it again today because of the tendency among some people, both at home and abroad, particularly among the so-called cominformists, to represent this circumstance in a distorted light, as if we had repented and are now turning back, since it is difficult for them to admit that they have championed a stupid cause so long. But we have not repented, as we have nothing to repent of. I would recommend to all such confused minds to come to their senses at least at the eleventh hour, and avoid coming into a still more awkward position, because it will no longer be possible to conceal their stupidity, which will be obvious to the whole world.

We have already established fairly normal relations with the Soviet Union. I believe that this is also their wish, that these relations will further improve, and that cooperation will prove beneficial to both countries. Needless to say, this depends both on Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, but more on the latter, as we are always ready to cooperate. We have the best prospects of establishing good relations on that side, and cooperating on all problems on a basis of equal rights. They have said themselves that they have not the slightest intention to interfere with our internal affairs, that they consider us as an independent country, which Stalin refused to do. Notwithstanding the fact that Stalin is dead, I must recall this circumstance, as his imprint still remains in many matters. Those in power today have said that they treat us as an independent and sovereign country and we welcome this statement. Consequently we did not hesitate to accept their offer to normalize relations and, as we are an independent country, it was not necessary for us to consider what others would say, whether we should accept normal relations or not, as it is our business and nobody else's. We will continue along this line, and will do eve-

rything in the interest of our country and world peace, and of course in the interest of the countries with which we establish good relations, provided these interests are not contrary to the interests of peace and to our own.

Today many people in the West contemplate this improvement of relations as our victory, as the fruit of our resistance during a long period of terrific pressure. No, that was far from being a simple disagreement. It was a cold war in which human lives were lost along our frontiers, it was the most violent propaganda, it was an almost unbearable pressure, exerted by all means except open war. Intelligent people in the West consider it a great victory to have resisted, and that it would now be absurd to raise objections because we have agreed to normalize relations with the Soviet Union. But there are also malevolent people in the West, who hate socialism and human progress, who are opposed to pacification and peaceful coexistence, and who now exclaim: „Aha! There they go back to their old friends, just as before. That's why we should not trust them at all, we should not give them anything, as all we have given them so far has been useless". However, they did not give us anything for nothing, as they also reaped their benefits, despite the fact we did not accept any conditions. Briefly, these people wish to do us harm. But we cannot heed such objections voiced by a few elements in the West, and this cannot prevent us to create such relations as we consider desirable and in accordance with our foreign policy. We cannot heed such objections, regardless of what they say.

#### WE CANNOT IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS WITH THE EASTERN COUNTRIES TO THE DETRIMENT OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE WEST

We have already said and we repeat it today, as I want to make it clear to the other side, namely the Soviet Union and the Eastern countries, that we cannot improve our relations with them at the expense and to the detriment of our relations with the Western countries, that they must realize once for all that we are conducting our own policy, that we cannot now quarrel or break off our relations with the Western countries, or permit the relations we have created with them so far to deteriorate for the sole purpose of improving our relations with the East. We cannot now retract all we have said and done so far as we have various, particularly economic, ties with the Western countries. Furthermore, we were obliged in 1948 to increase our security and seek the economic support of the Western countries. We have numerous trade and other agreements with them, we have been granted many credits and have a number of other obligations towards them which we have not yet even begun to fulfil; we still receive aid from some Western countries, like the United States, Great Britain and France for instance, and so far these countries have not shown themselves to be our enemies; they have proved to be friends in need. We therefore consider them as such and have no reason to sever, nor the slightest intention of severing our relations with them. Both those in the East and West alike should realize once for all that, as far as our foreign policy is concerned, we will not deviate from the line set in 1948, namely our own line, and that we always speak out boldly what is right and what not. It should be clear to one and all that we cannot be an appendage of anyone's policy, as we have our own views and are in a position to judge for ourselves what is right and what is wrong. Consequently those people in the West I mentioned earlier, who do not like us because we are a socialist country, should realize at last that every illusion that one day we might eventually renounce socialism and join the „capitalist camp" has long since perished. It should also be clear today to the East that we never intend to return to the position we had until 1948 or, to be more precise, to the position they wanted us to have but which we refused; as that refusal at that time placed our country in a most serious situation, it would of course be more than absurd to return to such a position today. This is entirely out of question. When this becomes clear to everyone, and it should be so, it will also be clear that they should and must cooperate with us as we are. We are not only making considerable efforts to insure a better future; we are also obliged to spend vast resources for defence purposes, as the danger of war was considerably acute until recently. Our country is always willing to make even the greatest sacrifices when the preservation of peace is at stake, and will continue along this path.

#### ABOUT SOME PROBLEMS IN WHICH WE DO NOT AGREE EITHER WITH THE EAST OR THE WEST

I would now like to say a few words on some problems in which we do not see eye to eye either with the East or with the West. We agree partly, but not wholly, with each in some problems, but of course one cannot expect us to agree a hundred percent with something which is contrary to our views on international problems. You know what the present international situation is. True, the danger of war has greatly subsided and has been relegated into the background, but many problems still remain. Unfortunately, steps are being taken on both sides which cannot be said to contribute to a rapprochement of views and facilitate the solution of outstanding international problems. Now, for instance, the Soviet Union has proposed a conference of 23 European and some non-European countries including the United States, China etc., for the purpose of discussing various points of disagreement. The idea in itself is really good. I should particularly stress and welcome the fact that the Soviet Union was first to propose the calling of a conference of 23 countries instead of only four as was the case so far. This is a good thing, but the question now arises on what basis has it all been placed? Has it been placed on a realistic basis? Unfortunately it has not. It is not realistic to set so near a date which is altogether impossible for such an important undertaking as the preparation of a conference in which 23 countries should take part. Consequently, this good idea was obviously doomed to failure in advance. This conference will most probably be held, but only a limited number of countries, namely those which have already replied positively to the Soviet Union, will take part, as the other countries will give a negative answer.

#### AGAINST THE CREATION OF NEW BLOCS IN EUROPE

Perhaps they will not understand us in the Eastern countries. But they should know that we are an independent country, that we make our decisions ourselves, and that we know what is the most correct course to take at a given moment. Such is the way we view matters and speak openly. We do not hesitate to say so. At the same time, I say to the West that any formation of military organizations and blocs does not improve the situation, although those who contemplate the settlement of international problems from the standpoint of cannons and atom bombs, etc. instead of initiating peaceful negotiations, think differently. We do not approve of such an attitude and for this reason refuse to join the NATO. We shall never join it and we have told them why. We are opposed to the creation of new blocs and organizations in Europe because we consider that a sufficient degree of equilibrium has been achieved in the world to enable peaceful negotiations, even if it should take a long time. We consider that one should not create new elements of discord, but that such elements should be persistently eliminated even at the price of sacrifices. We do not hesitate to tell this to the West, and they already know our view.

#### WE WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP COOPERATION WITH GREECE AND TURKEY

Many people affirm: „Yes, you are in favour of normalizing relations with the Soviet Union, and this means the breakdown of the Balkan Alliance." And I say that they are mistaken. The Balkan Alliance has not failed! The Balkan Alliance was not created for any aggressive purpose. If we had created it for aggressive purposes against the Soviet Union, this Pact would of course have broken down with the normalization of relations. But since the Alliance was created on a purely defensive basis with a view to strengthening our independence, it has not failed as far as Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey are concerned. It is fully valid and we will develop and strengthen further this Alliance, i. e. this cooperation among our three countries. This is in short the role and attitude of our country in the international sphere.

## Two Friendly Countries

Khin Maung Gale

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF THE BURMESE EMBASSY IN BELGRADE

Asked by the Editor of "The Review of International Affairs", the Chargé d'Affaires of the Burmese Embassy in Belgrade, Mr. Khin Maung Gale, replied to the following questions:

Question: Will you please give us your opinion of President Tito's forthcoming visit to Burma?

President Tito's forthcoming visit to Burma will, I am sure, strengthen still further the friendly relations between Burma and Yugoslavia, which are already most cordial.

Question: Can you tell us what are in your opinion the points of contact between the Burmese policy and the Yugoslav policy?

The closeness in the policies of Burma and Yugoslavia stem, in my opinion, from the similarity of their recent histories and their objectives. Both countries have achieved their independence at great sacrifices and have as their common aim the setting up of a socialist state. They believe in the principles of equality and peaceful co-operation among nations and are striving for world peace.

Question: Burmese policy in Asia has been encountering favorable comment in the world. Can you tell us how you view the fundamental political and economic problems of Asia?

It is our hope that satisfactory solutions will ultimately be found to the outstanding political problems of Asia. In

Korea, we feel that unification and freedom and the setting up of a free democratic state can be achieved through a free election throughout the country under the supervision of an international authority acceptable to both sides. As regards Indo-China, the end of the fighting there as a result of the efforts of the Geneva Conference is a matter for satisfaction as it represents another step towards the restoration of peace in Asia and, indeed, the world. The armistice agreement has still to be implemented, but we are hopeful that this will be accomplished successfully. Burma, perhaps more than most other nations, is vitally interested in the final outcome. With regard to the representation of China in the United Nations by the Government of the People's Republic of China, we feel that such representation will help to promote stability in Asia, ease world tensions and assist in bringing about a more realistic approach to world problems, particularly those concerning the Far East.

The countries of Asia which have recently achieved their independence are underdeveloped and there is a wide gap in their living standards as compared with those obtaining in the more fortunate parts of the globe. While the underdeveloped countries of Asia are exerting their best efforts to meet this problem, they will need economic and technical assistance in increasing measure if their national programmes are to be successfully implemented. Only when living conditions have been substantially improved will there be lasting peace and contentment in Asia.

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# PARLIAMENTARY LIFE

Gustav VLAHOV

## National Insurance of the Disabled in Yugoslavia

PROBLEMS of the protection of the disabled occupy an important place in the National Insurance scheme. In the past considerable results were achieved in the protection of the disabled, but these mostly concerned individual cases. The question of the National Insurance of the disabled was not treated in the past as one problem, as one complex question, nor could it be considered as such, for only individuals took an interest in it, and devoted their whole life to it. Official institutions considered this question, at best from the purely humanitarian standpoint, providing from time to time material aid, generally insufficient, for its solution. Only in the last decades more attention was devoted to the disabled, but the solution of this problem, as a complex one is still in its initial phase.

A radical change took place, in fact, only after World War II. This change was the result of a new method of solving the problem of the disabled and a great deal of merit for this is due to our state.

A whole series of problems concerning the national insurance of the disabled inherited from the prewar Yugoslavia, was intensified in the course of World War II (insurance of war invalids, incapacitated workmen, accident cases, the blind and the deaf, and other basic groups of disabled persons), temporarily unable to perform their normal duties and lead a normal life. Socialistic Yugoslavia from the very beginning sought for the best method of insuring disabled people — one that would guarantee speedy success. This success had to be achieved by the means available, which at the beginning were rather limited, but later our community — as the country developed — contributed more and more to the security of the disabled.

First of all the national insurance of the disabled was considered not only as a social and human problem, but as a social and economic one, the solution of which was closely related to the measures undertaken in other fields of social activities. To leave this problem unsettled would not only mean the creation of a considerable number of inactive citizens, but the burdening of our national income with unnecessary outlays.

Simultaneously with providing funds for war and other disabled, the study and gradual introduction of basic methods of medical and professional rehabilitation was undertaken, in order to include little by little the greatest number of disabled persons and to return them to the productive life of our country.

Besides adjusting measures of social insurance of disabled people with measures of other social activities, steps were taken for the adjustment of the activities of the community and the organizations of invalids and disabled people.

The Yugoslav Union of the Blind and the Yugoslav Union of the Deaf were gradually given more extensive functions (not only consultative) and more substantial funds for the advancement of their activities. By transferring all the problems and the entire funds to the competency of the unions and leaving to the community — to the state — only coordination and control, besides legislation, a right way was found for the efficient solving of their problems and for the manysided professional rehabilitation of their members.

Following this method concrete and lasting results have been achieved in respect of the social protection of disabled people. The Unions not only increased the number of their organizations and raised the cultural level of their members (large scale publishing has been achieved) but also a great number of blind and deaf people took active part in production. This was attained by expanding activities and always including new members in them, and by carrying out certain tasks. In order to secure the professional rehabilitation of its members, the Union of the Blind has organized an experimental workshop where tests are made for special jobs and machinery has been adapted so that it can be handled by blind people. Institutions of this kind are very rare in the world and if they are given due attention they may attain great importance.

Such complementing of the activities of the state and the unions of disabled people undoubtedly represents a new prospective. The experience acquired in this respect has aroused great interest among similar organizations in other countries and their efforts, after they have obtained a thorough knowledge of our methods, are directed towards introducing in their own organizations the general principles on which our national insurance is based.

The activities of these unions having grown so rapidly, it is indispensable to enact new regulations within a federation that would strengthen the status of the blind and the deaf, and render possible the further development of some of their activities.

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## Socialist Democracy in Yugoslavia

If a country's reality is to be grasped and its home and foreign policy correctly understood, it is necessary to know something of the fundamental characteristics of its development and of the essential principles of its social order. The more so if it is a country like Yugoslavia, which is in many respects different from other countries, and which is now trying to reach, by unbeaten paths, the aims of the most progressive men of the past, who dreamed of a society in which the human strivings of man would be realized. In this article we shall discuss some basic characteristics of the system of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia, a system which is constantly developing and seeking new and better forms. We shall not attempt to give any definite and final opinions, but only various principles and solutions the value of which will be shown in practice.

### SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF YUGOSLAVIA

The political forms of socialist democracy and its development in Yugoslavia have been largely influenced by the past:

1) The peoples of Yugoslavia — Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrins — have in the past been developing under different conditions. The various forms of social and administrative systems in which they lived, and the influences of different cultures and religions to which they were subjected, were responsible for the different views individual peoples of Yugoslavia had on many problems of social and State development. After the last war the federal system, with six republics (Bosnia-Herzegovina, with a mixed Serb, Croat and Moslem population, also forms a separate republic) was the key stone in solving the national problem, in abolishing inequality and in securing the full harmony and free development of all nationalities. On the broad platform which was thus created the different characteristics of individual peoples exert their influence on concrete political forms, and they are given due attention in social and political matters.

2) Having been under foreign rule for centuries, without state and democratic traditions (with the exception to some extent, of the Serbs and the Croats), the peoples of Yugoslavia lived for two decades before the Second World War under a social system in which the already poor forms of parliamentary democracy were suppressed and practically liquidated. The great differences between Yugoslavia and the West European countries, where exists a developed machinery of parliamentary democracy, incited the Yugoslav people to take a different road towards higher forms of democracy and freedom.

3) Industrially backward, pre-war Yugoslavia was a typical example for other countries. The peasantry represented the majority of the population, and agriculture was the chief branch of production. Yugoslavia was a poor agricultural country, in which the living standard of the basic producers, the farmers, was almost the lowest in Europe. The country as a whole was in a semi-colonial position, and its natural resources were exploited by foreign companies. The working people were deprived of any rights, poor and culturally backward, which went on a par with the privileges of the governing bourgeoisie, which paid less attention to the national interests than to the foreign circles it followed.

4) During the Second World War the state administration sided with the occupants of the country. As a result, the liberation struggle had to be waged on two fronts: aga-

inst the foreign invaders and against their assistants, the bourgeoisie. To liberate the nation, it was necessary to destroy also the old State machinery, which was the stronghold of the enemies of the people. The National Liberation Front, supported by the most progressive forces and all true patriots, then laid the foundations of a real people's government. The people's committees were, from the very beginning, the organs of self-government, and going through various phases of development, they were and remain the pillars of the new State.

### I. THE BASIS OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

The system of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia rests on public ownership of the means of production, on social management of public property, on people's self-government in various spheres of social life and on the individual rights of the citizens.

#### Public Ownership of the Means of Production

In countries where private ownership of the means of production is predominant, the proclaimed democratic rights are often of little value, because political liberties can be enjoyed and used only by those who are economically strong, i. e. by a single, small part of the community. Therefore, there can be no true democracy without economic democracy. And the basic prerequisite for economic democracy — the real equality of people — is the transformation of private into public property. This was realized in Yugoslavia through nationalization. Large land estates were liquidated by an agrarian reform in 1945. In 1953 another land law was passed limiting the holdings of individual farmers to an area they themselves can cultivate. The growth of capitalist relations in the villages was thus prevented. In towns the process of nationalization went on from 1946 to 1948, during which time the urban bourgeoisie was expropriated. The institution of private ownership subsists in small trades, certain services and, partially, in agriculture. But the great wealth of the country became the property of the whole community.

#### Social Management of Public Property

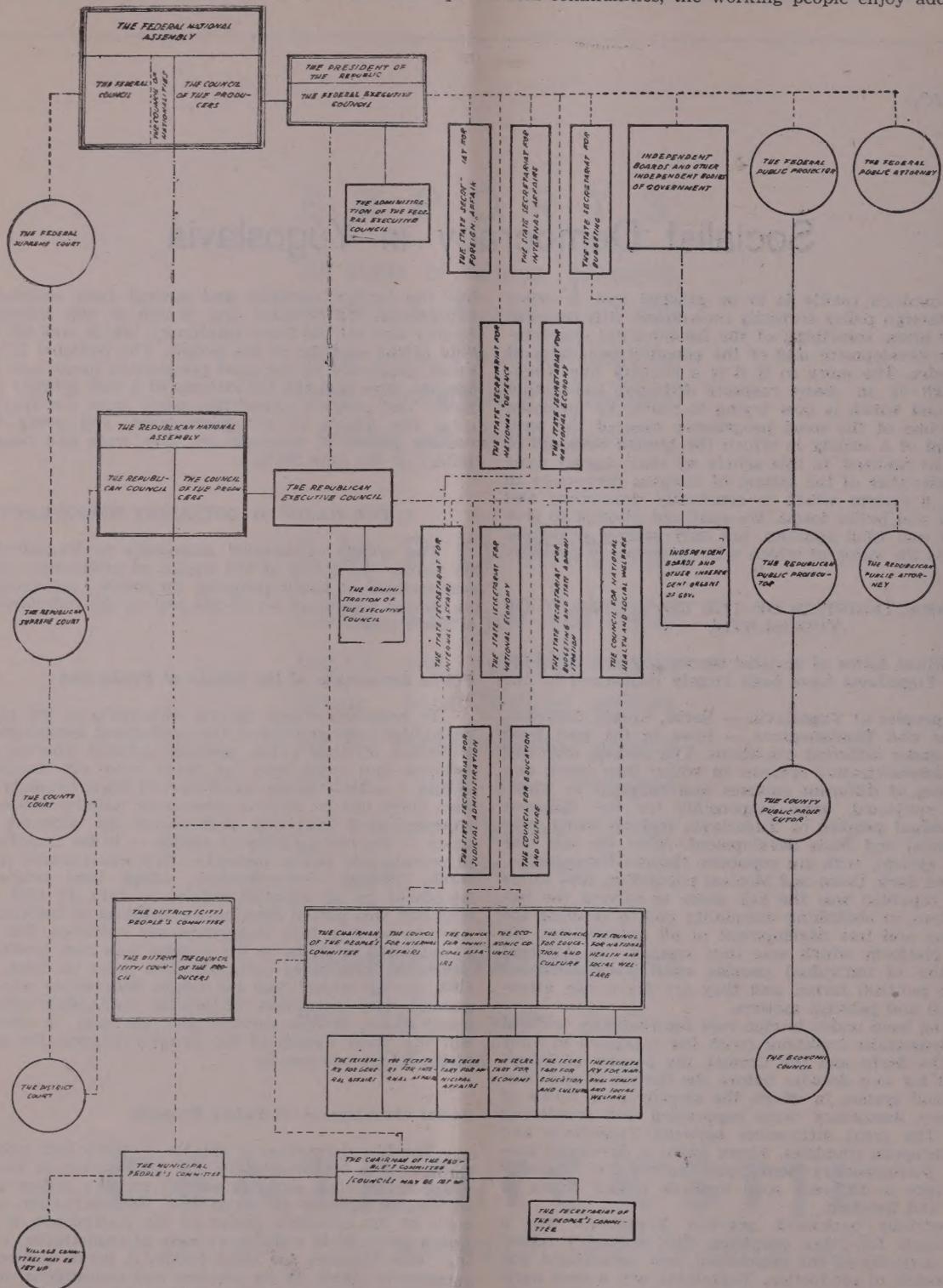
The transformation of private property into public property had to be followed by the introduction of social management of such property and by people's self-government in various spheres of social life. Nationalization cuts the roots of the economic power of the bourgeoisie, it is true. But it can lead to a different form of exploitation, in which the State becomes the main factor. A given section of the community which by its position and conceptions, identifies itself with the State (bureaucratic caste), takes the economic power into its own hands, and leaves its imprint on the system, in which the different forms of political democracy also loose their positive contents.

Social management of the means of production is, therefore, just as important a factor in the development of socialist democracy as the abolition of the economic power of the bourgeoisie. In a system of social management in economy and self-government in local communities, State capitalism can make no progress. For economic power is in the hands of the workers' collectives, which elect organs of social management.

## Human Rights and the Rights of Citizens

Socialism concentrates economic power in the hands of direct producers so as to establish real freedom and equi-

goslavia under which it will be possible to expand the so called classical human rights and to raise them to a higher level. Under a system of self-government in economy and local communities, the working people enjoy additional po-



A graphical representation of the Federal, Republican and local organs of government as established by the Constitutional Law of January 1953, which provided for far reaching changes in the country's government and for the state administration, thus concentrating more power in the hands of the Republican Assemblies.

ality among men and abolish all forms of exploitation. It would be a mistake to think that socialism rejects the basic human rights proclaimed by the bourgeois revolution in the West. On the contrary, conditions are being created in Yu-

goslavia under which it will be possible to expand the so called classical human rights and to raise them to a higher level. Under a system of self-government in economy and local communities, the working people enjoy additional po-

## II. LOCAL COMMUNITIES — BASIC UNITS OF SOCIAL ORDER

The local communities or communes are to become basic units of the political and social order in the system of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia. They will be social and territorial entities, in which all citizens, linked by common needs and production for a given area, jointly decide on the fundamental needs of their daily life: security and protection, housing, supplies, transport, education, health etc.

The communes, which as higher forms of local self-government came into being together with the people's committees in 1941, consider and make decisions on two very important problems which began to be felt after 1950, when the management of economic enterprises was turned over to the workers, i.e., economic problems which cannot be solved within any single enterprise, and problems arising from the selfish interests of individual enterprises. It deals with these issues without any interference from the administration, which would be a violation of the independence of enterprises and of the principle of self-management.

The communes, when fully developed, will have many functions to perform in economy.

a) The profit made by enterprises, which in principle is public property, will be divided into three parts: one will be retained by the enterprises themselves, the other will go, through taxes, into the Federal and Republican budgets, and the third, the largest, will be taken over by the communes. In that way, the communes will become decisive factors in economic and social development.

b) The communes will be chief investors. Thus they will exert the strongest influence on the expanded social and economic activities. The communes will establish new enterprises and develop new industries in their territories. They will also help the existing enterprises to expand their production if the latter are unable to do so by themselves, invest funds in new roads, power plants, transport and other projects of general importance.

c) As leading organizers in economy, and as associations of producers, the communes will also exert a significant influence on the distribution of the total product of the economic enterprises. And so they will be in a position to control the earnings of the workers and employees in industry and to maintain industrial wages at the level prevailing in other spheres of social activity.

d) The communes will have a number of other functions in economy, i.e. in organizing markets, commercial networks, communal services and so on. Through their banks they will determine credit policy and perform certain administrative duties in economy. They will, for instance, issue licences to new enterprises, control the distribution of capital funds, vouch for long term credits the economic enterprises from their areas might want to borrow from the banks.

e) Housing problems will be another important concern of the communes. They will organize social management of apartment-houses through house and street committees, in which the occupants themselves will have the decisive word.

f) The competence of the communes will also include transport, water supply, hygiene etc.

g) The communes will establish health institutions and organize their management. And since a considerable part of their funds will be spent on public health, they will endeavour to create conditions which will help improve the general health of the population.

h) Another field in which the communes will have an important role to play will be the public schools. They will consider and settle all problems encountered in both primary and secondary schools and in colleges and universities. In this way they will become an important factor in the educational policy in general.

This wide range of duties which the communes will perform presupposes a definite degree of economic, cultural and social development in the villages and towns. Consequently the organization of the communes, will progress more rapidly in developed areas, for communes cannot be organized by administrative regulations. In any case, the towns, smaller and larger, are capable of carrying out all functions of the communes. As far as small towns are concerned, their relation to districts will have to be precisely determined; however, as common markets for the products of their region, their economic functions will harmoniously fit in with the economy of the districts. In some industrial towns, which possess all the characteristics of a developed commune, one or more municipalities will be formed, which will have special competencies, but the towns themselves, as economic and cultural centres of their region, will not be separated from the districts, although they will have

all possibilities for independent development. Small towns will not be subordinated to districts, but their common interests will be harmonized.

In the villages, the present level of agricultural production does not allow the forming of communes, though there too they will be organized in the future, when the rural economies reach a higher degree of development. At the present time the problem of self-government in the rural areas is solved by organizing districts as local associations of village communes, so that a number of functions, usually performed by the communes, will be transferred to the village municipalities. The district, which is not a commune itself, but an association of village communes, settles all questions of local interest in consultation with the village municipalities.

## III. POLITICAL FORMS OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

The political forms in Yugoslavia contain the most progressive elements of classical democracy, as well as elements of the Yugoslav experience, particularly concerning the wide and effective participation of the people in the government of the country.

### Election and Recall of All Organs of Government

In this phase of our social development, the right of the citizens to elect and recall their representatives in the people's government is a principle which is being consistently applied in practice. This involves secret ballot, the achievement of Western democracy, which fits logically into the system of socialist democracy. The secret and direct elections supplement the principle of recall (applied practically only in some of the Western countries), which has all the democratic characteristics. There is, however, an exception in the application of direct elections in Yugoslavia; it concerns the elections to the Federal and Republican Councils of Producers. Actually it is a practical, rather than principled solution. The Councils of Producers are representative organs of the economic organizations, and it is logical that they should be composed of representatives from various branches of production. However, the existing organization of our economy, in which higher forms of association between economic enterprises have not yet been fully developed, make it necessary to have indirect elections to the Federal and Republican Councils of Producers. While the local councils of producers are elected directly, higher councils are not elected by associations of economic enterprises (which are now developing), but by the local councils (which are taken to be associations of economic enterprises on a local basis). In the future, when higher organs of associated enterprises have been sufficiently developed, the representatives of economic enterprises will be elected directly to the lower and higher councils of producers.

This, however, does not mean that indirect elections may not, under given conditions, become a form which will correspond more fully to the essence of socialist democracy. Though we are discussing the future, it can be mentioned that when the system of communes has been established, the question of indirect elections will have to be considered, because the national representative bodies will then be made up of representatives of the communes.

### Representative Bodies

The principle of people's self-government means that only representative bodies can act as executive bodies. Through direct and secret elections, the people elect their representatives, invest them with sovereign powers, keep constant and full control on their work, and can have them recalled at any time. So far the underlying principle which influenced the entire development of the Yugoslav system of government was the unity of authority, i.e. the concentration of legislative and executive powers in the hands of the representative bodies. The abolition of the Executive Councils of the People's Committees, of the Federal and Republican Governments was a very significant step on that road. Today the Executive Councils of the Republics and of the Federation are constituent parts of the People's Assemblies, organs which execute the decisions of the representative bodies.

This parliamentary power has not been so fully expressed anywhere else in the world. The representative organs in Yugoslavia have taken over from the earlier Executive Councils the right to pass general regulations (while earlier these regulations were adopted by the Federal and Repu-

blican Governments, which determined the development of the social and economic systems, today the Federal and Republican Councils can pass only such regulations as will enable them to execute correctly the decisions of the representative bodies). Through various regulations, decisions and resolutions, the representative bodies determine the country's policy, which must be followed by the executive bodies. If law does not state who is to perform certain acts of government, it is taken that they cannot be carried out by anybody but the representative bodies.

This new, dominant role of the representative bodies has changed both the role and the place of the people's deputies in the social and economic life of the country. Now that the Assemblies are in session continuously, the deputies are required to be present at all debates (they may not have any other duties likely to distract them from parliamentary work), to keep in touch with their electors and constituencies. This is made possible by the fact that the people's deputies are members of the people's committees of the districts in which they are elected.

#### Councils of Producers

In Yugoslavia's system of socialist democracy, the leading role belongs to the working class. The working class was the most progressive social force which shouldered the greatest burdens of the National and social revolution. The road followed by our development, particularly after 1948, has tended to lessen the intervention and participation of the Communist Party — the representative of working class and initiator of the socialist revolution — in the affairs of government, and to give the leading role to the working class. Now, the Councils of Producers, as representative organs of the economic enterprises, are in fact the representative bodies of the working class. That is a significant function of the Councils. Another important function of the Councils is to extend the right of the working people to self-management in the economic field, which means the right to participate in the distribution of wealth they themselves create. At present the working collectives are empowered to use part of their labour surplus as they see fit. As a result, the Councils of Producers play a significant role in the adoption of budgets, and various economic, labour and social insurance regulations. In doing so, they enjoy the same rights as the second chambers of the Federal and Republican Assemblies. The Councils of Producers combine the political power of the representative bodies and the economic power of the producers in economic enterprises.

Members of the Councils of Producers must during their mandate be employed in the enterprises in which they are elected. But that is understandable: if they were not directly connected with production and enterprises, they would be unable to interpret correctly the interest of the producers in the distribution of wealth and in other fields of economic life.

#### Workers' Councils and Organs of Social Management

Political life is a classical sphere of Western democracy. It has been and remains outside economy. In socialist democracy, political life, containing all political forms, extends to economy and other fields of social life as well. Therefore, the workers' self-management in economy is just as important as people's self-government in other fields of social activity. Only the synthesis of these two rights of the working people gives a full meaning to the essence of democracy.

Workers' self-management has delivered a serious blow to the administration in economy. The workers have not only acquired — for the first time in history — the right to manage economic affairs; they have also broken up the State capitalist and bureaucratic system in the State and society. The workers' councils are organs of the working collectives and of the community as a whole. Their rights emanate from the authorization the community has given to the working collectives. The workers' self-management does not mean that the working collectives own the means of production they work with, for all means of production are public property. They are only authorized to elect ma-

nagement organs on behalf of the community. Naturally, the working collectives enjoy certain rights, such as the right to exploit and use the means of production without any interference from outside, to keep a share of the profit they make, and so on.

In non-industrial institutions and public utilities, the forms of social management vary — not only in different branches, but also in one and the same activity. In education, for instance, the forms of social management do not follow the same pattern. In elementary and secondary schools, they are different from those in colleges and universities. Social management will soon be introduced in health services, publishing houses and so on. In these fields the problems are different, and corresponding forms are now being sought. But even if there are differences, the forms of social management in all branches of activity have one thing in common. Everywhere there are committees, elected in various ways, and composed, as in universities and publishing houses, for instance, of eminent personalities in the cultural and political fields, scientists, experts and so on.

#### Forms of the People's Participation in Government

Naturally, the citizens cannot exercise all the functions of government themselves. But they implement their rights through their representatives. However, the system of representative organs would be one-sided if it were not supplemented by direct participation of the citizens in the government. Consequently there are in Yugoslavia several forms of direct democracy, the most important of which are electors' meetings and referenda. The electors criticize and judge the work of the administrative organs, consider problems of social life and submit proposals for their solution. The putting up of candidates in parliamentary elections is done almost exclusively at electors' meetings.

Referenda will be fully applied when the communes come into being throughout the country. Even today industrial enterprises decide all important production and distribution problems by referenda. In this respect we must also mention the judge-jurors, who voluntarily take part in trials, thus bringing the law courts closer to the masses.

#### The Place of State Administration

Although what we have already said shows, directly and indirectly, that the role of the State administration is decreasing, and although the whole process of decentralization is based on the gradual fading away of the State, the State administration still has a definite place in our social system.

In order to harmonize the State administration and our democratic system, all State organs must be responsible for their work to the representative organs, and their dependence on the representative organs must grow as democracy develops. Accordingly, great care is taken not to allow any abuse of administrative posts, which frequently happens in Western democracies. In Yugoslavia, the State administration act on orders from the representative organs, and, in principle, no administrative organ is accountable to a higher one.

#### Law Courts in Socialist Democracy

The law courts, as special and independent institutions, which administer justice by making use of all the positive experience of foreign countries, guarantee and protect the personal property and civil rights of the citizens. They are independent; no administrative organ can interfere with their work. However, the rights exercised by the courts emanate from the people; therefore, they must be responsible to the people. Accordingly, they are responsible to the representative organs.

Judges are elected and recalled by the representative organs (the right of recall can be exercised only if judges engage in detrimental and unlawful activities). The judges must strictly adhere to the laws and the intentions of the legislator. Though the courts are in essence independent in their ruling, they are nevertheless a constituent element of socialist democracy.

# OPINIONS ON ACTUAL PROBLEMS

L. ERVEN

## North-Atlantic Treaty Organization

### A GENERAL STUDY OF THE ORIGIN, STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATO

#### II.

##### THE SYSTEM OF REGIONAL AGREEMENTS AND THE ATLANTIC PACT

THE area in which the Atlantic Pact operates is laid down in its text as the area of the North Atlantic, but the area of the North Atlantic is not precisely defined in the treaty. (Its southern boundary only is defined as extending to the Tropic of Cancer.). However, from the material concerning preparation of the pact, and from the discussions connected with its ratification, it can be concluded that it includes the states on both sides of the North Atlantic. Accordingly it would have the character of a regional agreement, as foreseen under chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, which permits, as being in accordance with the Charter, the establishment of regional agreements or organizations for the maintenance of peace and security, and for the peaceful settlement of local conflicts.

However, in the course of the development of the Atlantic Pact, as was shown in the previous article, there have been certain territorial extensions as to its members, and consequently an extension of their action outside the North Atlantic area. These extensions have been gradually achieved, without the corresponding changes being made in the relevant text of the agreement. With the widening of its membership, the definition of the territory which is collectively protected against aggression has also been extended, in accordance with article 6 of the Treaty; but the other articles dealing with the North Atlantic area have remained as they were in the original text (for example, in the preamble, in articles 5 and 10).

As a result, the question arose whether the Atlantic Pact has a regional character, and if not, what is its character in that respect. This question is not merely academic, it also has a practical aspect.

If the Atlantic Pact is a regional agreement in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, then it is to a certain extent, under the control of the Security Council. The Security Council would be able to make use of it to carry out certain coercive measures, which it might deem necessary to take on behalf of the United Nations. On the other hand, a regional organization would not be able to undertake, on its own initiative, any coercive action without the agreement of the Security Council, except in the case of action against former enemy states. In addition, a regional organization must inform the Security Council, of any action which it undertakes, or intends to undertake, for the defence of peace and security. Consequently, a regional agreement is an instrument of regional security which enters into force under the control of the United Nations.

If the Atlantic Pact is only a defensive alliance in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, then it has no such obligation. It has only one obligation, that is, it must inform the Security Council without delay of any measure that it is taking in legitimate defence, and to suspend such measures as soon as the Security Council

takes its own steps to maintain peace and security. This obligation to suspend measures which have already been undertaken when the Security Council starts taking its own steps, is not expressly formulated in Article 51, but it is implicit in Article 51, under which the right for direct legitimate defense is recognized until the Security Council takes the necessary measures. But this does not appear to be contestable because so far Article 51 has been accepted in all agreements on collective security in the event of aggression.

The founders of the Atlantic Pact did not wish it to be subordinated to the restrictions of regional agreements, and to the control of the United Nations. In the text of the Atlantic Pact there is no reference to chapter VIII of the Charter. According to that chapter, the Treaty has been concluded within the framework of Article 51 of the Charter, as an alliance aiming at collective legitimate defence. But despite this fact, politicians and theoreticians have expressed not only the opinion that the Atlantic Pact is not a regional agreement, but also the opinion that it is and further, that only political motives, (that is, emancipation from the control of the United Nations), have caused the fact that it has such a character, to be contested.

In support of the thesis that the Atlantic Pact is not a regional agreement, the following arguments, amongst others, can be advanced:

(a) In the text of the agreement itself, there is no reference to the provisions of chapter VIII of the Charter, but there is a reference to article 51 about individual and collective legitimate defence. The contracting parties have primarily been called on to determine the character of the agreement which they were about to conclude.

(b) A military alliance under article 51 of the Charter cannot be at the same time a treaty under the main such as is provided for in chapter VIII, because according to article 51, the contracting parties have the right to take direct action in the event of aggression, without waiting for the consent of the Security Council, while under article 53 of Charter VIII, a regional organization can undertake coercive measures only with the consent of the Security Council.

Thus the interpretation of articles 51 and 53 could be one of the reasons why those who drafted the Atlantic Pact, which had been primarily conceived as a regional organization, avoided any reference to chapter VIII, because they did not want any action of its members to depend on the Security Council, in which the Soviet Union has the right of veto.

In support of the thesis that the Atlantic Pact can be considered as a regional organization, the following arguments may be advanced:

(a) The fact that a treaty contains no reference to the Charter concerning regional agreements cannot change its internal structure, if that structure is in fact the structure of a regional agreement and, in

fact the structure of the Atlantic Pact is such. To a regional agreement, it is not necessary that all signatories belong to the same territorial area, but that the aims of such joint actions undertaken relate to precise territorial area. The Atlantic Pact has such an area in view — the North Atlantic area.

(b) Article 51 is not in contradiction with the provisions of chapter VIII of the Charter, because article 52 in chapter VIII explicitly provides no provision of the Charter, and consequently not even article 51, shall prevent the conclusion of regional agreements; while article 51 provides that no single provision of the Charter, — consequently not chapter VIII, — shall deny the right of individual and collective legitimate defence in case of aggression. Thus, a regional agreement under chapter VIII, may also contain the right to legitimate defence contemplated in article 51.

The facts, then, do not support this interpretation of the Atlantic Pact within the framework of the United Nations.

When the ratification of the Atlantic Pact was debated in the American Senate, it was asserted that the inclusion of Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Portugal and Italy had changed the fundamental conception of the pact, and that it had extended the commitments of the United States beyond the area of the North Atlantic, the security of which had been considered as the basic motive for American participation in the said pact. The fact that such an assertion could be made and discussed shows that the Atlantic Pact had been brought up for ratification in a different, wider form than that in which it had been originally conceived. In the discussion it was pointed out that the Atlantic Pact had been drafted with the agreement of the United States and Canada, with five European North Atlantic countries (those of the Brussels Pact), and that only those countries should be members. The other European countries, according to the text, would only be brought into it if their participation became useful.

At the time of its creation, the Atlantic Pact was supported by the American policy of security, for the security of the United States is closely connected with the security of the North Atlantic area. The objection that was brought out against the inclusion of other states, particularly Denmark, Norway and Italy, through which the commitments of the United States were extended beyond the area of the North Atlantic, showed that, owing to such extension, the pact had already lost the character of a regional organization.

This objection was not in general contested by the arguments that the above mentioned States are in the North Atlantic area, as defined in the Treaty. This inclusion was not justified by the principle of regional defence, but by the so called collective security. The term is not quite clear, neither is it common, but it is the reason which can be advanced for the inclusion in one defensive system of those states who, from a purely territorial point of view may not belong to that system, but are geographically connected with it. As a result, the successful defence of that area depends on their actual participation in the system.

As a result of the inclusion of the Western countries, which lay outside the North Atlantic region, the Atlantic Pact could not be considered as a regional defense pact but as a collective security system. However, after the inclusion of Greece and Turkey, it could not even be considered as collective, in so far as the principle of collective security could not be considered as meaning an endless chain of alliances, which in the end loses all significance. After the inclusion of Greece and Turkey, the South-East European command was established in Smyrna in Asia Minor, and even the most flexible interpretation of collective security cannot link this headquarters with the defence of the North Atlantic area.

After the principle of regional security was abandoned for the inclusion of Northern and Southern European States for the sake of collective security, and for the inclusion of Greece and Turkey this general extra-territorial strategic system was also abandoned.

At the time of the establishment of the Atlantic Organization in 1949, the American Senate was very sensitive concerning participation of the United States to the defence of Europe. During the debate on article 10 which deals with the subsequent inclusion of other countries in the Pact, the Senate expressed fear that the admission of new members would radically change the nature of the American commitments within that pact. To overcome this fear, the United States President made a statement according to

which any further increase in members would only be accepted if it had detained previously the agreement of the Senate.

From the foregoing it is quite clear that the argument that the Atlantic Pact could be considered as a regional agreement because its effect and action are conferred on one territorial area, cannot be defended any more. This very territorial quality was lacking in the Atlantic Pact. The inclusion of Greece and Turkey in the pact, for instance, does not concern the defence of the North Atlantic area, and those two countries were not included in that area simply by the nature of the agreement. On the contrary, their inclusion extends the competence of the North Atlantic Pact beyond the North Atlantic area proper and commits powers to defend territory outside the Atlantic area.

The Organization of the Atlantic Pact was extended and widened and its tasks multiplied, through the extension of its aims. This was expressed also in the reasons advanced to explain the various changes, which had great significance in the sphere of military organization. The Atlantic Pact beyond the North Atlantic area proper and instrument for the security of the North Atlantic area, but as a system of security on which is based the defence of Europe, that is the defence of the West, which in fact today does not mean the defense of the West in a geographical sense, but in the sense of its political and social scope.

Although it is quite clear that there has been an extension of the Atlantic Pact and its field of action there are nevertheless doubts as to whether it is a regional agreement or not. The reason is that, on the one hand, it was first conceived as a regional organization, and on the other, that even after all these changes, its text still retained the original conception that its sphere of operations was only the North Atlantic area. However, one must bear in mind, as will be shown in subsequent examples, the discrepancy between this original text and the real essence of the Atlantic organization which is one of the fundamental characteristics of the Atlantic Pact, which in its implementation has far extended beyond its own actual territory. Conceived primarily as a defensive organization for the North Atlantic area, it has gradually widened its scope to include first Northern and Southern Europe, then the Eastern part of the Mediterranean, and finally Central Europe. Under such conditions, one cannot speak of the regional character of the Atlantic Pact.

This development of the Atlantic Pact from a regional organization to an extraregional system has resulted in the creation of a certain „Atlantic Monopoly” in the system of collective security in Europe. In the West, the tendency to centralize international cooperation in the organization of collective security has increased, which results from the Atlantic Pact. To what extent that tendency is exclusive can be seen from the fact that the solution of the complicated problem of the inclusion of Germany in the system of collective defence is only considered within the framework of the Atlantic Pact, and the revival of the Brussels Pact (as the heart of that organization) is mainly regarded as facilitating such inclusion.

That tendency to centralization in the Atlantic Pact makes more difficult, both psychologically and technically, the policy of regional defensive agreements provided for in chapter VIII, of the United Nations Charter as a complementary system of general collective security. Such a system has struck a snag in the centralized and centralizing spirit of the Atlantic Pact.

One of the differences between a defensive military alliance under article 51 of the Charter, and the system of collective security of the United Nations, including a system of regional agreements, is that a defensive military alliance under article 51 is a precaution against a concrete danger, while the organization provided by the Charter is a permanent system of security as a permanent policy of the United Nations, for the maintenance of security and peaceful international cooperation. The Atlantic Pact is a defensive military alliance against an aggression which was real, and which still exists, but it does reinforce and stabilize itself as a permanent system of collective security, assuming in an effective particular way, the role of a system of collective security of the United Nations. That is why its general political significance in the general system of international politics is much greater than it would have been if it were only a political and military alliance of defence against aggression.

## Impressions from the United Nations General Assembly

THE Ninth General Assembly of the United Nations is still in session; it is not expected to end before December 10th and some very important items are still on the agenda. But in the course of the last two months, the basic trends have been quite clearly outlined, and it is not likely that they will change much during the Assembly. Although it is not yet time to give a final appraisal of the Assembly, one can get a pretty definite impression.

Two fundamental factors characterize the conditions under which the Assembly is held. Primarily, this is the first Assembly, — and this was often stressed in the course of discussions — which has met when there was no war on anywhere and when indications of a decrease in the international tension were more evident. On the other hand, important international events, both those which influenced the development of the situation and those which had more or less different effects, took place more and more outside the United Nations Organization. These circumstances gave a special importance to the IXth General Assembly. Namely, the question was first, whether and how long would the Assembly maintain the above-mentioned changes in the international situation, and second, how would the UNO orientate itself in such a modified situation. In other words, would the UNO know how to maintain the position which the new situation enabled it to have, whether this new situation would enhance or diminish the significance of the UNO.

The first question was rather clearly answered during the first weeks of the General Assembly and the debates in the Committees mostly confirmed the impression left by the general debate in this respect. Both the Assembly participants and the observers, particularly the „veterans”, i.e. those who have followed the work of the General Assembly for years, entirely agree on one point: the atmosphere in which this Assembly has been held is considerably different from the atmosphere in previous Assemblies. Actually the Assembly did not offer objectively new conditions in international relations, as the more or less subjective readiness of States to adjust themselves to this changed situation and to make use of the possibilities it offers. But since these subjective factors were far behind the objective possibilities, neither could the General Assembly give an entirely faithful picture of the international conditions under which it was being held. Both in the attitudes of the delegations and in their proposals, much was felt that reminded of the gloomy days of the acute stage of the cold war: there were polemic tirades, as well as proposals and counter-proposals obviously inspired only by propaganda reasons. Yet, this time such tirades were much fewer in fact rather the exception than the rule. Therefore one may freely say that a new spirit pervaded the Assembly, a spirit which allowed discussions and not quarrels only. It dawned finally on nearly all delegations that it was not important any more to gain a point in propaganda against one's opponent; what was important was to attempt — or at least to give the impression that such an attempt was being made — to find on the basis of cooperation a solution for some of the items on the agenda or at any rate to get them going. This new atmosphere was transferred from the debate on problems which so far have been usually directly connected with the „cold war”, to other issues such as, for instance, the colonial questions. The atmosphere was much calmer in the IVth Committee (economic, social, juridical questions, etc.).

We are now coming to the other question, which necessarily results from the first, — the role which the UN is going to play, under the new conditions in international affairs, not only as an exponent of international reality, but as an active factor in this reality, a factor which should positively influence it and direct its development within the framework of the Charter. As far as we know, if one may say that the UNO played such a role, it was, so to speak, the role of a „fireman”. Its role was to smooth down — and it was not always successful — conflicts which had broken out or, at the best, to remove the immediate causes of such conflicts. It is, however, obvious that if the Organization wants to maintain and strengthen its influence in

world affairs, the Organization must (in view of the above mentioned tendency to settle major international problems outside the UNO) make a step further: it must take over those basic problems upon which primarily depends the removal of the danger of war, and establish a lasting and stable peace on the foundations laid by the UN Charter. In this respect too we have the impression that the IXth General Assembly represents, if not a visible progress, at least a hint which could induce real optimism. (Yet there are many „old” issues that the Assembly did not succeed to take off the agenda).

Let us take three examples that we think most characteristic. We have, first of all, disarmament. For the first time a common basis was found, a very serious common basis for further work on reaching a positive solution for that question. The very fact that, for the first time, this problem has been transferred from the field of mere propagandist competition (although there were still some elements of such competition) to the field of constructive solution, represents in itself a considerable step forward. It is not necessary to emphasize the importance that even modest achievements in solving this major and intricate problem would have from the point of view of the general situation. It is also noteworthy that the UN has seriously tackled one of the greatest political and economic problems of today — the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It is quite obvious that the success of the UN in this respect would contribute not only to the solution of the disarmament problem in one of its sensible aspects, i.e. the elimination of nuclear weapons, but also to the materialization of economic conditions for a stable peace; not to mention what it would mean for the prestige of the UN. Certain negative tendencies manifested themselves here too, as for instance insufficient constructive response from one side and various exclusive and undemocratic inclinations on the other, as well as certain attempts (from this same side) to reduce the influence of the UN in this matter. However, in spite of this, it is a fact that the UN has made in this respect a progress the significance of which cannot be underrated. The debate on a special fund for the development of underdeveloped countries clearly showed, although part of the industrial countries bitterly opposed it, that the concept of such a fund won in the UN, and that the UN is determined to persevere in its endeavours to master the fundamental economic problem of today in a way which would be in accordance with the modern principles of the Charter and the needs of our time.

Maybe this is not the right place to write at length about the role of the Yugoslav delegation in the present General Assembly. From the speech made by the chief Yugoslav delegate in the general debate, who gave a clear appraisal of these changed conditions and the task which they set before the Organization, and from the attitude of the Yugoslav delegates concerning the problems of disarmament and the peaceful use of atomic energy, as well as the attitude based on constructive principles which is adopted concerning the colonial problems, the Pacts on human rights etc., up to the persistent fight it has waged for the U.N. Special Fund — the Yugoslav delegation, it is generally believed, has made a very serious contribution to the crystallization of the new and positive elements which revealed themselves at the present General Assembly. Great importance was attached to Yugoslavia's appraisal of the new situation, because of the opinion that her critical position during the acute phase of the cold war gives her the right to speak with a certain authority of the signs indicating that this phase is now over.

It is too early to give an appraisal of the IXth General Assembly and any predictions about the place it will have in the history of the United Nations would be premature. But, when it comes to summing up the results of this Assembly, maybe we can perceive the beginning of a new period in the history of the Organization, or at least the beginning of the end of a chapter of this history which has caused, although the Organization is not to be too blamed for it, many disappointments and has in some cases even roused doubts as to the viability of the United Nations.

# „Nada Dimić“

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# ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Milan ALEKSIC  
Secretary of the Federal Chamber of Commerce

## Better Trade Relations with the Countries of the Eastern Europe

In April this year, a meeting of the European Economic Commission (EEC), devoted to the problems of East-West trade was held in Geneva. During this meeting some contacts were made between the Yugoslav foreign trade experts and those of the East European countries, who exchanged views on the practical possibilities of resuming trade relations between Yugoslavia and these countries. This resulted in some practical measures. When the meeting of the EEC Committee for Trade Development was held in October, also in Geneva, some comprehensive compensation agreements were concluded between the Federal Chamber of Commerce of the FPRY and Yugoslav enterprises, on one side and the corresponding chambers of commerce and enterprises of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany and the USSR. After the meeting, in November, a compensation agreement was reached between the Chambers of Commerce of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria respectively.

These compensation agreements are practical measures calculated to settle, in a relatively short period — 3 to six months — the problem of the exchange of goods in an area where, after 5 years of non-existent trade relations, the continuity of a normal activity was broken, and where the conditions for the exchange of goods have changed. These agreements are, therefore, of a tentative character. Their aim is to make both parties better acquainted with their respective market conditions before entering into normal trade relations and before adopting more adequate instruments of foreign trade.

There is, however, no doubt that in spite of considerable progress and changes in the Yugoslav economy during these five years, there are many economic reasons for a livelier exchange of goods with the East European countries. Some of these States offer a natural and interesting outlet for many Yugoslav export goods and, similarly, the markets of those countries are provided with the goods Yugoslavia is in need of. The degree of industrialization which the Yugoslav economy achieved and the consequent changes of the structure of Yugoslavia's exports and imports should, of course, be borne in mind. Equally important is the fact that Yugoslavia, since the cessation of her trade relations with the East European countries, has directed her trade to some other markets, making some business contacts useful to her economy and assuming economic obligations which

have now to be fulfilled. All that will, for some time, influence the volume and the structure of Yugoslavia's trade with the East European countries.

Compensation agreements, most of them signed in the second half of this year, provide that the greatest part of goods has to be exchanged before the end of this year. The total volume of trade agreed upon is the following: with Czechoslovakia 7 million dollars; with the USSR 5 million dollars; with Eastern Germany 4 million dollars; with Hungary, 2.25 million dollars and with Bulgaria 0.5 million dollars. With the exception of Eastern Germany, with which things were somewhat delayed, the enterprises of both parties concerned immediately concluded business contracts and started delivery of the goods.

According to these agreements, Yugoslavia will mainly (about 80%) export agricultural products and food such as: meat, poultry, eggs, canned fish, fodder, fruits, fruit pulps, dried plums, wine, tobacco, flax etc. Yugoslavia will also export the following chemical products: caustic soda, soda-ash, calcium carbide, copper sulphate and tannic acid. Lumber will be exported in smaller quantities, including plywood, parquet flooring and fire wood.

Yugoslav imports from East European countries will consist of: from Czechoslovakia: rolled products, parts for trucks, textile machinery, machines for the shoe, electrical and radio industries; electro-porcelain, kaolin, lenses, precision instruments, porcelain and sanitary ceramics;

From the USSR: oil, cotton, anthracite, news-print and manganese ore;

From Eastern Germany: potash, fertilizers, news-print, aniline dyes, raw materials for the chemical and pharmaceutical industries, instruments for precise mechanics and optics, printing machines, porcelain, kaolin and various metal goods;

From Hungary: cement, electrodes, radio parts, fire-proof materials, aniline dyes, raw materials and dyes for the chemical and pharmaceutical industries;

From Bulgaria: sunflower seeds, fats and rice.

The experience achieved so far shows that exporters and importers at both ends are doing their best to fulfil their obligations in a satisfactory way. An atmosphere of good business relations has thus been created. There is, therefore, a good prospect that the trade between Yugoslavia and the East European countries will develop normally.

## The Economic Problems of Asia

In the post-war period, the crisis of the colonial system has become acute in the Asiatic countries. Great changes occurred in the part played by some great colonial Powers in the control of Asiatic countries the more Asiatic countries liberated themselves from colonial dependence. They continue fighting for their independence and equality of rights under conditions of a free development of productive resources. This process is not ended yet; it is still going on. In the middle of this year, Indonesia denounced its union with the Netherlands. The question of Western Guinea is, however, still pending. The liberation process has also progressed in the former French Indochina. In Malaya, the war of liberation is still being waged, etc. The changes which already occurred in the position of many Asiatic countries have greatly influenced not only the economy of these countries, but world economy as well. The importance of these changes as far as the world economy is concerned is becoming greater and more significant as the struggle of these countries to build up the necessary basis of their independence and their equality of rights is going on.

The economy of these countries did not, for a long time, make an adequate use of their natural resources and of their economic wealth. Their economy had to serve the needs of the colonial Powers. The colonial Powers limited themselves to the exploitation of raw materials (even not of all of these, but of the most important ones); to the securing of a monopolistic position in the foreign trade, and partially in the domestic trade of these Asiatic countries; to the monopolization of their markets, etc. Until the beginning of the Second World War foreign capital considered these regions as a potential source of reproduction. The backwardness of the productive forces of these countries became considerable. When these Asiatic countries ceased to be colonies, they were faced with very serious problems. They have to solve these problems if their independence is to become real and permanent.

The problems which these countries are facing are of a dual character: socio-economic and political. Their political problem consists in not getting involved in any of the two existing Blocs, not allowing foreign interference in their internal affairs and playing an independent role in international politics.

The post-war economic development of these countries is undoubtedly characterized by the prominent part played by the State. All these countries, economically under-developed and backward, had to rely upon the State. In all these countries, the State is the champion of economic progress. In these Asiatic countries, the State intervenes in the development of productive forces; participates in production, organizes trade and bank systems, builds transport facilities, mobilizes existing resources, directing them into various economic branches and sectors, elaborates development plans, supervises the implementation of those plans, etc.

The prominent part played by the State in the economic development of these countries raised two problems: the organization of economy, and the problem of bureaucracy. The first problem boils down to this: should the administration be centralized or decentralized. The latest movements in these countries indicate the strong forces which are in favour of decentralization, as they are aware of the danger created by a strong and growing bureaucracy. This view, which takes into account the specific conditions prevailing in these countries is supported by negative and positive experiences abroad.

From the point of view of the economic structure and the development of these countries, the three following problems are predominant: firstly, the problem of agrarian reform and of a radical liquidation of feudal relations; secondly, how to organize the economic life of these countries on a national basis; thirdly, how to secure capital, both domestic and foreign, which is almost indispensable if a speedy liquidation of economic and technical backwardness is to be achieved.

The program of agrarian reform has an exceptional economic and political importance. Economically, the agrarian reform should lead to a rapid development of the productive forces in the field of agriculture; politically, the

agrarian reform should destroy one of the main levers of reactionary elements, which are ready, in order to safeguard their narrow selfish interests, to serve the interests of foreigners, etc. The liquidation of these relations in Asiatic countries unfortunately progresses rather slowly and under various forms. The agrarian reform, as a basic measure, has not yet been realized in all these countries. The forces which are opposing it are still strong. In Burma a considerable part of the land is nationalized; local assemblies are allotting land to the peasants. In almost all of these countries, hiring contracts and relations have changed to a considerable extent, rents have been reduced and hiring has become more stable. First steps to organize the agricultural credit system are an important weapon against usury which is wide-spread practice in these countries. The active role played by the State in the promotion of the cooperative movement is another means to liberate the peasants. Cooperative activities in villages are now limited to the marketing of farm products, and to the supplying of peasants and credit policy. The main object is to eliminate the monopoly of commerce, particularly of foreign firms concerning trade and the exchange of agricultural products. There are some other ways of providing the peasantry with the necessities of life; making them familiar with the new methods of farming; of granting them State help in order to enable them to make small investments and especially to improve their cultural standard.

These measures are of special importance because agriculture is the basic economic activity of these countries. The backward state of agriculture is the cause of an inadequate food situation. In none of these countries was the agriculture in a position to satisfy the needs of the population, owing to the relatively high rate of population increase. This is the cause of further deterioration in the general economic situation of these countries. In the post-war period great majority of them had to import considerable quantities of food for general consumption. This implied the spending of considerable financial resources. The measures undertaken in the recent past to improve the condition of agriculture are beginning to produce favorable results. India and Burma are the best examples in this respect. During the first post-war years India suffered from a severe shortage of food, and had to import large quantities of food. Now, India is already in a position to reduce greatly its food imports. The Burmese production of cereals is also showing substantial progress. Other countries, too, are undertaking vigorous measures to improve their agriculture.

The dominant role played by foreign capital in the key-industries of these countries resulted in promoting economic development only from the point of view of foreign interests, in economic instability and a loss of profits suffered by these countries. Foreign capital was invested in these countries under its own terms, resulting in the political subjugation of the Asiatic countries. Foreign capital concerned itself mainly with the exploitation of raw materials, thus hampering industrial development. In this way, the Asiatic countries were almost wholly depending upon the import of a wide range of goods, from means of production to the most ordinary consumer's goods. Thus foreign capital had a monopolistic position both in the foreign and domestic trade of these countries. Through their exploitation foreign capital solved the problem of its reproduction, exporting its crises and making the dependent territories carry the burden of war. After World War II the liquidation of the influence of foreign capital in these countries was one of the most important factors in their economic and political development. It is true that this liquidation process is a rather slow one owing to the lack of domestic capital and technical personnel, — to the insufficiently developed economic, organizational and technical resources, etc. Consequently, one of the main economic problems of these countries is how to secure, under as favourable terms as possible, those necessary additional resources likely to accelerate their economic development and to create the necessary basis for increasing their own resources.

The current measures which were the result of new forms of international economic co-operation (technical assistance, food grants, loans of the International Bank, Co-

lombo plan etc.) are far from being sufficient to satisfy even the most urgent needs. Besides there has been recently a growing tendency of countries granting assistance in one form or other to secure for themselves some definite political and strategic advantages. The tendency not to solve the problem of international financing on a new basis and encourage private and direct investments hampers the rapid economic development of these Asiatic countries, on a wide basis. In this respect we can note certain successes of financial capital which has forced some of these countries to comply with the newly created situation and to make their legal systems more favorable to foreign private capital investments.

In this respect Pakistan is the best example. In September of this year Pakistan ruled that foreign capital may be invested in the following industries: the cement industry, coal mining, the fish canning industry, the sugar and glass industries, cotton mills, electric power plants (with the exception of hydraulic power plants) the chemical industry, shipbuilding etc. Foreign capital may not own a majority of the stocks, i.e. it may not control more than 49% of the total capital invested. In the middle of November, however, this percentage was increased to 60% of the capital subscribed. Moreover, capital invested in these industries may, at any moment, be repatriated in its country of origin. Finally, all profits which may accrue from these investments and which are reinvested in Government projects may also be repatriated in the same conditions. Contrary to this and almost simultaneously, Burma and Indonesia adopted measures restricting the freedom of action of directly invested private capital, especially of capital invested in commercial enterprises.

A low rate of capital accumulation in these countries results in an urgent need for additional resources. The tendency is prevailing, however, not to allow this additional capital to be invested in such a way as to enable it to reap extra profits. That is why these countries are strongly in favour of the establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for financing the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

Backward industries and a strong desire to industrialize, expressed in comprehensive plans for economic development, are the best proofs of the indispensability of such resources. All these plans are aiming at a parallel evolution of agriculture and industry.

The industrial production of Asia is mainly concentrated in Japan, India and China. Although India and China are under-developed countries, other Asiatic countries, especially those of South-East Asia, are still more so. For decades they have been chiefly producers of raw materials which, even today are the bulk of their exports and the chief source of their national incomes. They chiefly produce: jute, cotton, manganese, rubber, tin and coal products. The countries of South-East Asia have a monopolistic position in the world production of natural rubber (more than 85% of the world production) but this does not mean that they enjoy a monopolistic position in the world markets because synthetic rubber is constantly gaining ground. Asia contributes more than 60% of the world production of tin, but the new technological processes steadily reduce the demand for tin, which results in overproduction. Rice is the chief agricultural product, and is an important export item in Burma, Thailand and Viet-Nam.

The nature of the exports of these countries which consist mainly of raw materials, and the great fluctuation of the prices of such raw materials, make very uncertain their income from exports. All this influences their balance of payments, their internal financial situation, the purchasing power of money and, ultimately the rate of their economic development. Quite recently these countries realized negligible profits even when the prices of their raw materials went sharply up. This happened during the Korean war. Then, at the height of the rearmament boom, they were unable to secure essential items, particularly means of production. This resulted in a strong depression which lasted through the period of low prices for the public debt increased, the balances of payments were unfavourable, etc. Consequently, these countries were forced to revise their development plans, postpone the execution of individual projects etc. That is why all these countries insist on the conclusion of international agreements on raw materials, on the stabilization of their prices and on such a system of

economic co-operation as would put an end to the disparity now prevailing between the prices of raw materials and those of finished industrial products. In other words, they would welcome a more favourable rate of exchange between these two groups of products, thus reducing the monopolies on the markets.

Having no industry of their own, since colonial powers have opposed it systematically during many decades, these countries have virtually a purely agrarian economy. Therefore, the problem of the diversification of their economy is the basis of their new economic policies. All the economic plans of these countries are aiming at: the increase of the national income and the improvement of the standard of living, the creation of a more diversified and stable economy, and a more equitable distribution of the national income and wealth. The Constitution of Burma provides that the economic life of the country should be so organized as to contribute to the increase of the national wealth and income, to the betterment of the material condition of the people, to the raising of the cultural level of the people, to the strengthening of the national defence forces and to the fostering of national independence. Similar aspirations have been proclaimed by the Indian plan, while Indonesia puts the greatest emphasis on the improvement of the standard of living.

In order to achieve their economic progress and their national independence, these countries are now fighting on two different fronts. They are fighting against reactionary forces (against big feudal lords, usurers, private capital, etc.). They are also fighting against those forces within their own liberation and political movements which are working on behalf of foreign powers which are anxious to impose new forms of slavery upon these countries. The struggle is being fought under conditions of great economic and technical backwardness, — religious, nationalistic, tribal, factional and narrow local forces participating in this struggle. These are the specific conditions under which the progressive forces of all these countries are developing.

The problems which these countries must face are the results of their century-old slavery, of their prolonged colonial status which aimed at making misery and poverty permanent features. Each of these countries wants to break its own path and to live and prosper as an independent country. Their liberation from colonial dependency gave rise to some other problems: how to create a material basis for their recently won independence and how to develop their own productive forces. This process of development is going through various stages. It is an unusually vivid and complex process in which the various state capitalist and socialist elements are intermingling. Progressive forces are the champions of progress, and the Socialist Parties of these countries are becoming a leading force of these progressive elements.

In the middle of November a meeting of the Socialist Conference of Asia was held in Tokyo. The economic programs of the Socialist Parties, among other things, were on the Agenda of the Conference. The discussion centered on the problems of agrarian reform and population trends. That was the first meeting of this kind which was attended by experts of the Socialist Parties. It was decided to hold such meetings more frequently in the future in order to come to an agreement as regards common plans and united action in the economic field. This Conference unanimously supported the idea of the Special United Nations Fund to finance the economic development of under-developed countries. It was decided to set up an Information Bureau of the Socialist Conference of Asia. Its task would be to gather information on the planification of economic development and to contribute to the exchange of views and experience. The Bureau is an organ of the Economic Council functioning within the framework of the Socialist Conference of Asia.

Other problems under discussion were the following: the establishment of an Asiatic Payment Union, the aims of the trade and customs policy, the economic relations with particular areas of the world, etc.

The Socialist Conference of Asia with its organs, and especially with those dealing with economic and social problems, is becoming a factor in the progressive development of these countries. The co-operation of the Socialist Parties of the Asiatic countries is becoming a strong social and political factor — a power which is exercising an ever greater influence on social movements in this part of the world.



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# ART AND CRITICISM

*Marko RISTIĆ*

President of the Commission for Cultural Contacts with foreign countries

## The Yugoslav Book through the Ages

A BOOK (of course) speaks above all with its contents, and even when it is surpassed by new perceptions and is no longer in keeping with the consciousness or sensibility of the modern man, we feel that it has answered the question and needs of the period in which it came into being, so that its contents answer the question which we ask ourselves about that period. But a book does not testify with its contents alone about the conditions of time and place in which it sprung. A book speaks also when its contents are inscrutable, a book speaks in itself and — if we view it with an innocent eye as if we had never seen it before — as a strange object among those created by man, a strange product of his ingenuity, his unrestrained wish to materialize this wish for putting his spirit into a concrete form, to express this, to communicate with other people, to master the world with his thought, to enrich the external world, to change himself and the world. A book speaks for itself, even regardless of the meaning of words and sentences whose black lace goes to make it up. It speaks with its very existence, its presence, here, amongst us, — with the fact that it exists, (and this is a great deal), it tells that it has come into being, as an object once created by the thought and hand of our predecessors and which our contemporaries are creating in countless specimens. It tells, every old book for itself, that it has come into being at a time and under certain circumstances when nearly on every occasion — at least when, as in this case we speak about the Yugoslav book, — the very fact of its birth marked a new victory of the will and consciousness, the energy and intelligence of an individual or a community, man and people — a victory over hostile conditions and elements of every kind.

And just as, in terms of time, the old book eloquently speaks of the times which have gone by, and transmits from age to age a testimony of the efforts and ideals of the past, through which the form and features of the present and future are being shaped, so also, I hope, the same book can speak eloquently through space, over a distance, about remote countries and peoples as they were and as they continue to be, it can carry from country to country the testimony of the efforts and ideals, of the destiny and achievements of peoples who, living far from each other, and without knowing each other, cooperate, without being aware of it, to the same task, one of the finest of human occupations, as this is in the final instance work on the building of universal culture, on raising oneself in the integration of human consciousness.

By organizing this exhibition of the Yugoslav book through the ages, the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries wished to make a modest contribution, as part of the activity defined in its name, to the mutual acquaintance of nations and cultures which are always insufficiently informed about each other — acquaintance for which even a book in a foreign language is an adequate instrument, since a book is eloquent even when it is mute. The intention and ambition of this exhibition is not to show what, among the Yugoslav peoples, has been

produced in the art of the handwritten and printed book as most beautiful and to be followed as an example, but to present a general, although proportionally modest, picture of the complex development of book production in a country where this culture, developing under various influences, greatly intersected, under conditions which were nearly always very hard, constitutes an earnest and significant tradition and carries the stamp of a specific national individuality. I believe that the confirmation of both this tradition and this individuality will be a new experience for the majority of visitors, something not devoid of interest. Despite various shortcomings, this exhibition will tell them something that will bring them closer to the peoples who today live free and united in the Yugoslav socialist federation, and who have consistently and persistently fought for many centuries for their book, and, by using their book, as a weapon also for their freedom, for their individuality (through which they alone can be useful participants in the human community). This struggle began in the remote, dark ages, by one poor light of a candle, in the uneasy and bloody darkness of slavery or during the storms of invasion, in the inclement weather of the hardest times — this struggle for the national language, for the book by means of the book, as for the symbol and with the symbol of an originally sprung cultural consciousness. May this exhibition testify to the well-meaning visitor that this continuity of the literary art and the writing of book, which has heralded for centuries the proud and stubborn wish of the nation for its independence and its own culture, has lived in our people, from the very beginning of their social, political and cultural affirmation, in the thunder of battles, in the smoke of evil fires. May this exhibition bear witness to the fact that this continuity of our spiritual life has maintained itself in spite of all that hindered and threatened our existence through the ages. The book was one of the weapons and remained one of the witnesses of that age-long struggle. So many times destroyed, it survived, as a witness, although wounded and fragile, all the storms and battles through which it passed. Precious for us in the strength of its mute and eloquent presence, here it also means a greeting through those who, at this exhibition, — a small part of our cultural wealth — will see it and, incomprehensible for them, will without doubt understand, a greeting to the dear peoples of Scandinavia and Great Britain, whose cultural tradition is so deep and so rich, and who bring with every act of acquaintance and rapprochement a noble benefit and sincere joy to us Yugoslavs.

## Our Writers in Foreign Languages

WHEN one is talking about the translation of foreign authors into our language, it is clear that our readers have a wide choice of works through which they can get to know the cultural treasures of other lands. Statistics give the impressive figure of approximately five hundred works translated annually from foreign languages, consisting of novels, short stories, drama, essays and poems. It is sufficient to look at the rich array displayed in our bookshops to be convinced of the lively and varying activities of our publishing houses. The literature of nearly all countries and periods is translated and published; world classics are published in great numbers and systematically enough, and many contemporary works become available to our readers in a clear and adequate translation. Through the Society for the Protection of Authors' Rights, as well as through direct contacts with foreign writers and their publishers, our publishing houses establish business connections and gather information about the latest literary events throughout the world. These connections are extended and strengthened day by day, so that one may understand how fruitful and varied are the translation activities in our country.

In the light of these facts, it is natural that our people would want to know about the translation of the works of our writers into foreign languages, how many of their works are published annually abroad in foreign languages, what has been done and what has been achieved in that direction, and what are the prospects for the future?

It is necessary to stress one fact right away, a fact which of course is not a new one: our literature, both old and contemporary, contains works which, when judged by their artistic merit, by the highest standards, will bear comparison with a great number of known and recognized works from foreign literature. Yugoslav poetry contains many poems of the greatest quality, Yugoslav stories — both old and modern — have many poignant pages, and the novel, although still developing becomes maturer every year. When we look at our poetry and prose, it is not difficult to find a great number of names which can quite well and convincingly represent our literature in the rest of the world.

To tell the truth, ours cannot compare with the rich literary treasure of some countries, whose cultural life has developed peacefully through centuries; thus it is natural that the number of our works published in other countries is bound to be less than the number of their works translated and published in Yugoslavia. In addition, few foreigners know our languages, and this is a real obstacle to the reading of our writers in the original, and to the appreciation of their worth. But, nevertheless, it is an unpleasant surprise to discover how slowly, undeservedly slowly, the works of our writers are penetrating the rest of the world.

For example, in 1951, an anthology of the works of the Slovene poets, translated by Luigi Salvini, was published in Rome. The same year was published in Florence a story by Vladimir Nazor „The Angel in the Belfry”, also translated by Salvini and a novel by T. Seliškar, „The Company of the Blue Gull” translated by Carlo Pauletti. In Zurich, in 1951, „The Heroic Poems of Kosovo” was published in German, successfully translated by Catharine Jovanović, and Vladimir Dedijer's „Diary” was also published in London. In 1952, we could not record a single publication of the works of our writers in foreign countries. In 1953, a miscellany was published in Copenhagen under the title of „Yugoslav Stories”, translated by Gunar Svan into Danish; and Ivo Andrić's novel „The Bridge over the Drina”, translated into German by Ernst Jonas was published in Zurich; this novel will soon reach its ninth edition in Belgrade. The situation in regard to the translation of the works of our writers in preceding years is similar; in French „Impure Blood” by Bora Stanković, „The Pit” by Goran Kovačić, „Stojanka, Mother of Knežpolje” by Skender Kulenović; in English, „The Servant Jernej and his Rights” by Ivan Cankar; in Italian „Townhall Child” by Branislav Nušić, and „The First Time with Father to Morning Service” by Laza Lazarević; in German the novel „Thirst” by Anton Ingolič, „Shepherd Loda” by Vladimir

Nazor, „The Phantom in the Valley of Saint Florian” by Ivan Cankar, as well as short stories by Slavko Kolar and Miško Kranjec.

Only a few things are lacking to make this brief survey complete; but the comforting fact is that Vladimir Dedijer's book „Tito Speaks” has aroused immense interest abroad and has been translated in many countries (America, England, France, Portugal, Italy, Denmark, West Germany, Japan, China, Burma, etc.). This book, which has contributed so much to the spreading abroad of knowledge of the struggle of our nation and of the political transformation of our country, will soon be published in Greece, Turkey and India.

One feels that interest abroad in our literature has been increasing in recent times. The efforts of the Literary Association of Yugoslavia and our Commission for cultural relations with foreign countries, the visits of distinguished foreign literary and cultural workers are all producing positive results. In 1955, will be published „Travnik Chronicle” and „The Bridge over the Drina”, by Ivo Andrić, and probably „The Return of Philip Latinovicz” by Miroslav Krleža will be published in Paris. In Italy, a miscellany of stories by I. Andrić is being prepared under the title of „Thirst” and also „Travnik Chronicle” and „The Return of Philip Latinovicz” and „Leda” by Krleža. The book „The Little Country Among Worlds” by Bihalji-Merin, will soon be published in Stuttgart in German, while Cankar's novel „The Servant Jernej and his Rights” will be published in Delhi.

When we write about the interest shown abroad in our literature, one remark is necessary. Well known foreign publishers do not receive sufficiently systematic guidance about Yugoslav literature. They do not decide easily, probably for commercial reasons, to acquaint their readers with a wide selection of our writers. I consider that our publishing undertakings, who also occasionally publish indiscriminately the works of foreign writers, should be able to help improve this situation with the cooperation of publishers abroad.

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